

## Message Text

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11

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 IO-14 OIC-04 AEC-11 OMB-01 H-03 NSC-10 SS-20

DRC-01 AECE-00 /164 W

----- 012242

P R 011854Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 410

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 9037

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM NATO

SUBJ: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING, NOV 1, 1973

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. AD HOC GROUP REVIEWED THE EASTERN OPENING STATEMENTS OF THE PREVIOUS TWO DAYS, AND APPOINTED A DRAFTING GROUP TO PREPARE A REPORT ON THEIR CONTENT (TEXT SEPTTEL). GROUP ALSO REVIEWED DRAFT NETHERLANDS PRESENTATION ON THEME ON UNDIMINISHED SECURITY, AND NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) AGREED TO PREPARE A REVISED DRAFT. DISCUSSION OF BILATERAL CONTACTS REVEALED THAT SOVIETS ARE MAKING SIMILAR POINTS TO EACH WESTERN DELEGATION (US REPORT SEPTTEL: QUESTIONING AND OBJECTING TO THE CONCEPT OF DISPARITIES, URGING BRISK MOVEMENT IN NEGOTIATION, AND ASKING POINTED QUESTIONS ABOUT WESTERN

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STATEMENTS THAT MBFR AGREEMENTS MUST NOT IMPEDE THE DEVELOPMENT

OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. IN ADDITION, GROUP APPROVED THE CHAIRMAN'S REPORT FOR THE PREVIOUS WEEK (TEXT SEPTTEL) AND DECIDED THAT THE REPORT TO THE NAC ON NOV 9 WOULD BE MADE BY THE FRG, BELGIAN, AND DANISH REPS. END SUMMARY.

2. BILATERALS. US REP CIRCULATED A REPORT ON A MEETING OCT 30 WITH SOVIET REPS KHLESTOV AND SMIRNOVSKY (TEXT SEPTTEL) AND COMMENTED THAT IN THIS CONVERSATION AND IN ANOTHER THE EVENING OF OCT 31 (AT A RECEPTION US REP GAVE FOR ALL 19 DELEGATIONS), THE SOVIET REPS HAD MADE FOUR PRINCIPAL POINTS: (1) THEY QUESTIONED AND DISLIKED THE WESTERN DISPARITIES APPROACH; THEY HAD SPOKEN OF AN EXISTING BALANCE, THEY HAD STATED THAT SUPERIORITY OF A CERTAIN KIND OF EQUIPMENT ON ONE SIDE WAS OFFSET BY SUPERIORITY IN ANOTHER KIND ON THE OTHER SIDE, AND THEY HAD TALKED OF THE DELAYS WHICH WOULD RESULT FROM DISCUSSING THE "PHILOSOPHY" OF DISPARITIES; (2) THEY EXPRESSED AN INTEREST IN MOVING PROMPTLY TO DISCUSSION OF AN ACTUAL REDUCTION AGREEMENT, AND WERE CONCERNED ABOUT AN APPARENT WESTERN INTENTION TO STAGE AN EXTENSIVE "GENERAL DEBATE" FIRST; (3) THEY PROBED TO FIND OUT WHAT LAY BEHIND WESTERN REFERENCES TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, INDICATING ABELIEF THAT THIS CONCERN MIGHT POSE AN OBSTACLE TO AN AGREEMENT OR ELSE A WESTERN EXCUSE FOR DELAYING AN AGREEMENT; (4) THEY EXPRESSED SOME SLIGHT UNCERTAINTY ABOUT HOW TO PROCEED IN THE TALKS IN THE NEXT DAYS, WHICH US REPS HAD TRIED TO DISPEL. UK REP (ROSE) AND FRG REP (BEHREND) INDICATED THAT SOVIETS REPS HAD MADE SIMILAR POINTS TO THEM. ON THE SOVIET THEME OF

MOVING RAPIDLY AHEAD, UK REP NOTED THAT SOVIET REP HAD QUESTIONED THE PRACTICAL VALUE OF HAVING TWO PLENARY SESSIONS PER WEEK IMPLYING MORE RAPID WORK COULD BE DONE BY OTHER MEANS. FRG REP, WHILE NOTING THAT OTHER THREE POINTS US REP HAD CITED HAD BEEN MADE TO HIM, OBSERVED THAT KHLESTOV HAD SAID NOTHING ABOUT MOVING RAPIDLY TO SPECIFIC AGREEMENT. ITALIAN REP (TALIANI) ASKED WHETHER ANY OTHER DELEGATION HAD AS YET BEEN TOLD THAT THE PACT WANTED TO MOVE RAPIDLY; THERE WAS NO RESPONSE. WITH REGARD TO SOVIET CONCERN OVER EUROPEAN COMMUNITY ISSUE, BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENSSEN) REPORTED THAT KHLESTOV HAD PRESSED HIM HARD ON THE MENTION IN HIS OPENING STATEMENT TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, AND SO HAD THE POLISH REP (STRULAK). THE LATTER HAD EVEN INDICATED

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THAT THE WAY SHOULD BE LEFT OPEN FOR POLAND TO JOIN THE EC. BOTH THE SOVIETS AND THE POLES HAD BEEN UNCLEAR ABOUT WHAT THE ALLIED STATEMENTS ABOUT THE EC MEANT, AND FEARED THAT SOME SORT OF ESCAPE CLAUSE FOR EC MEMBERS WAS CONTEMPLATED. FRG REP SUGGESTED THAT PACT CONCERN WAS POSSIBLE NATO DEMAND THAT SOME FUTURE EUROPEAN DEFENSE COMMUNITY WOULD BE EXEMPTED FROM AGREED MBFR PROVISIONS. BELGIAN AND NETHERLANDS REPS SUGGESTED THAT ALLIES WOULD NEED TO ELABORATE ON THIS POINT. WITH REGARD

TO THE WAY IN WHICH NEGOTIATIONS WOULD PROCEED DURING THE NEXT  
FEW WEEKS, FRG REP REPORTED THAT KHLESTOV HAD BEEN NON-COMMITTAL  
WHEN FRG REP HAD EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE EAST WOULD  
ELABORATE ON THEIR POSITION AND EOWAGE  
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USIA-15 IO-14 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 OIC-04 AEC-11

OMB-01 AECE-00 DRC-01 /164 W  
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P R 011854Z NOV 73  
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 411  
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY  
INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
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USNMR SHAPE  
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FROM US REP MBFR

4. NETHERLANDS REP REPORTED THAT HUNGARIAN REP  
(PETRAN) HAD EXPRESSED UNHAPPINESS THAT ALLIES  
HAD RAISED THE ISSUE OF HUNGARIAN STATUS, SINCE HE  
HAD UNDERSTOOD THAT IT WAS AGREED THAT HUNGARIAN ISSUE  
WOULD NOT BE RAISED AGAIN. NETHERLANDS REP HAD REMINDED  
HUNGARIAN REP OF THE 14 MAY STATEMENT RESERVING ALLIED  
RIGHT TO REFER BACK TO THIS USSUE. FRG REP REPORTED  
THAT POLISH REPS, IN CONTACTS WITH SEVERAL MEMBERS OF  
HIS DELEGATION, HAD STATED THAT THEY HAD FOUND MOST  
ALLIED OPENING STATEMENTS FAIRLY CONSTRUCTIVE AND UN-  
SURPRISING, BUT THAT THEY HAD BEEN UNPLEASANTLY SURPRISED  
TO LEARN THAT THE ALLIES INTENDED TO EMPHASIZE US AND  
SOVIET REDUCTIONS. POLAND WANTED TO ENSURE THAT  
EUROPEAN FORCES WERE INCLUDED IN REDUCTIONS. FRG REP  
HAD RESPONDED THAT THE COMMON CEILING WOULD OF COURSE  
INVOLVE EUROPEAN REDUCTIONS, AND THAT ALLIES WOULD WANT  
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TO MOVE AHEAD RAPIDLY BUT IN PHASES. US REP ADDED THAT SEVERAL US DELEGATION MEMBERS HAD ALSO BEEN TOLD OF POLISH DESIRES THAT REDUCTIONS INCLUDE POLISH AND GERMAN FORCES FROM OUTSET. (FULL REPORT ON US DELEGATION CONTACTS IN SEPTTEL.)

5. CHAIRMAN (FRG REP BEHREND) NOTED EXISTENCE OF THREE ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF SOVIET OPENING STATEMENT: US (VIENNA 9026), UK, AND THE VERSION PROVIDED BY THE SOVIETS TO THE PRESS. IT WAS AGREED THAT IN THE FUTURE A SUBGROUP OF THE AD HOC GROUP WOULD COLLABORATE ON A SINGLE TRANSLATION OF PACT STATEMENTS DELIVERED IN RUSSIAN.

6. US AND UK EACH CIRCULATED PAPERS PRESENTING AN ANALYSIS OF THE EASTERN STATEMENTS. GROUP WENT OVER DRAFTS IN SOME DETAILS, AND APPOINTED A SUBGROUP (ONE OFFICER EACH FROM US, UK, FRG, AND CANADA) TO PREPARE A COMBINED REVISED TEXT WHICH WILL BE PROVIDED TO NAC BY CHAIRMAN OF WEEK. (WILL BE TRANSMITTED SEPTTEL.)

7. GROUP THEN TURNED TO PREPARATION FOR NEXT PLENARY SESSION, WHEN PRESENTATION OF THEMES WILL BEGIN. US REP SUGGESTED THAT IN VIEW OF PROBABILITY THAT EAST WOULD NOT HAVE ANYTHING TO SAY IN NEXT PLENARY AS WELL AS PACT CONCERN FOR GETTING DOWN TO BUSINESS, IT WOULD BE BETTER TO PRESENT THREE THEMES IN THE NEXT PLENARY TO GET THE BALL ROLLING INSTEAD OF THE TWO THEMES ORIGINALLY CONTEMPLATED. UK REP DEMURRED, SUGGESTING THAT PRESENTATION OF THEMES TOO RAPIDLY WOULD REDUCE THEIR IMPACT. CANADIAN REP SUPPORTED US REP, NOTING THAT TEN-MINUTE PLENARY SESSION WOULD BE UNDESIRABLE, AND THAT THE PACT STATES WERE APPARENTLY NOT READY TO SPEAK. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE ASKED WHETHER THE ALLIED FLANK STATES HAD AGREED ON THEIR PRESENTATIONS. ITALIAN REP RESPONDED THAT THE FLANKS WOULD HAVE TWO SPEAKERS: A NORTHERN FLANK STATE ON THE INTERESTS OF OTHERS AND A SOUTHERN FLANK STATE (NOT, ON INSTRUCTIONS, ITALY) ON THE INTERESTS OF THE FLANKS. THEY FELT THAT THESE TWO FLANK STATEMENTS SHOULD IMMEDIATELY FOLLOW AND BE INTRODUCED BY THE INITIAL THEME OF UNDIMINISHED

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SECURITY WHICH WAS TO BE PRESENTED BY NETHERLANDS REP. NETHERLANDS REP SUPPORTED UK REP'S POINT, ARGUING THAT IF ALLIES GO TOO FAST THEY WILL HAVE LITTLE TO SAY LATER, AND THAT GOING MORE SLOWLY COULD SERVE TO DRAW THE EAST OUT. FRG REP AGREED, SAYING

THAT ALLIES SHOULD NOT MAKE IT EASY FOR EAST TO JUST SIT AND LISTEN. HE SUGGESTED THAT FOR THE NEXT PLENARY, PRESENTATIONS SHOULD BE MADE BY NETHERLANDS REP AND BY THE TWO FLANKS.

8. US REP RESPONDED THAT THERE WAS LITTLE CHANCE THAT THE PACT COUNTRIES WOULD HAVE ANYTHING TO SAY AT THE NEXT PLENARY, SINCE THE IDEA OF THEMES HAD BEEN NEW TO THEM AND THEY WOULD NEED TIME TO FAMILIARIZE THEMSELVES WITH THE IDEA, GET INSTRUCTIONS AND DO THEIR DRAFTING. IF THE TEAST DID HAVE A SPEAKER, THREE FROM THE ALLIES WOULD BE ENOUGH, BUT A FOURTH ALLIED SPEAKER SHOULD BE PREPARED. DANISH REP (KORSGAARD-PEDERSEN) POINTED OUT THAT ROMANIAN REP (OPESCU) HAD TOLD HIM ROMANIA WOULD NOT MAKE A STATEMENT AT NEXT PLENARY. OTHER DELEGATES TILL PREFERRED TO LIMIT ALLIED PRESENTATIONS AT NEXT PLENARY TO NETHERLANDS REP AND TWO FLANK REPS, AND US REP AGREED.

9. NORWEGIAN REP (VAERNO) SUGGESTED INFORMING PACT OF WHICH THEMES ALLIES WOULD TAKE UP. FRG REP OPPOSED THIS, OBSERVING THAT IT COULD TOUCH OFF A DEBATE ON AGENDA, AND BELGAIN REP SUPPORTED HIM. BELGIAN REP ADDED THAT ALTHOUGH THE ROMANIANS WERE UNENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE CHANNEL, IT WOULD BE MUCH SIMPLER IF HE CONSULTED WITH THEM AS WELL AS WITH POLISH REP TO INFORM THEM THAT THERE WOULD BE THREE ALLIED SPEAKERS AT THE NEXT PLENARY AND ASK WHETHER THERE WERE ANY PACT DELEGATIONS WHO WISHED TO SPEAK. HE WOULD THEN INFORM CHAIRMAN (CANADIAN REP) OF THE RESPONSE. THIS WAS AGREED.

10. NETHERLANDS DRAFT THEME ON UNDIMINISHED SECURITY WAS THEN DISCUSSED IN DETAIL. NETHERLANDS REP AGREED TO PREPARE A REVISION ON THE BASIS OF THIS DISCUSSION. (TO BE FORWARDED).

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11. AD HOC GROUP WILL MEET AT 10:30 A.M., NOVEMBER 2, 1973  
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## Message Attributes

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**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
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**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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